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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

April 24, 1972

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: PRC Exchanges: Follow-up to NSSM 148

Attached for clearance is a proposed telegram to Ambassador Watson in Paris giving negotiating instructions for the next steps in developing exchanges with the PRC. We see this as only the first in a continuing series that will go into increasing detail and will attempt to increase the number of exchanges and guide them into areas of interest to us, but without forcing the pace. The philosophy of this approach is as spelled out in the response to NSSM 148.

We shall seek to use the Paris channel, among other things, to establish with the Chinese that Government-discussed and "Government-approved" exchanges can be particularly good ones from their point of view, in that they provide access to the American establishment, to the best in science and other fields, and in that they offer assurances that the U.S. arrangements will be competently handled, and free of embarrassment to the greatest extent possible.

We plan to tell the Chinese on a case by case basis who the American sponsor of "Government-approved" exchanges will be. Often, but not inevitably, we shall call on the National Committee for U.S.-China Relations to play the role of umbrella organization advising and protecting other professional groups from pressures.

The PRC will presumably continue to use other American organizations for their "private track"

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under provisions of E.O. 12958
by J. Saunders, National Security Council

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exchanges. We shall seek to influence these groups, in whatever ways we can, to avoid excessively one-sided actions, as stated in the NSSM response.

To demonstrate the advantages of the "Government-approved" track through Paris, however, we shall try to put as much substance as possible into the negotiations. To this end, we plan to follow an ad hoc pattern of conveying interesting opportunities as we find and verify them.

In the attached telegram, we begin with a follow-up to a specific exchange program (translation materials) to which the Chinese have already agreed and we suggest a means of carrying out the agreement. We then attempt to follow up on the fact that the PRC has already issued an invitation to Dr. Wang of the Library of Congress by suggesting a return visit from the Chinese side. We propose additional sports exchanges, believing these an easy and natural area for exchange activity, and select basketball since it is a sport at which we are good and which is popular in China. We then attempt to sound out the Chinese on possible exhibitions, selecting a type of exhibit which will give them a chance to demonstrate the excellence of traditional Chinese culture and (though we do not mention this) compete with the recent Soviet cultural exhibit. Finally, we try the tactic of USG promotion of certain types of private exchange to see what the Chinese response will be. For this essay, we select medical fields in which we know the Chinese are interested and/or will have a chance to show off independently developed techniques.

As follow-up to the attached telegram, we are developing for early submission through Paris:

1. A small list of scientific congresses taking place in the United States during the balance of 1972 which (1) represent fields in which we believe the Chinese have special competence or interest, and (2) are invitational only and to which we are assured the ROC will not be invited.

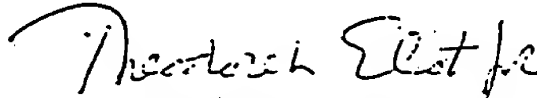
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2. Research team or joint research proposals in agricultural technology for increased crop yields, such as gene pools and germ plasm centers.

3. An exchange of broadcasting industry executives.



Theodore L. Eliot, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

Proposed telegram

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ROUTINE

PARIS

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FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY FROM THE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: US-PRC CULTURAL EXCHANGE

1. WE BELIEVE THAT YOU SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE RETURN OF AMBASSADOR HUANG FROM PEKING TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING CONCRETE PROPOSALS IN THE AREA OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE.
2. YOU SHOULD REMIND AMBASSADOR HUANG THAT THE SECRETARY AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHI P'ENG-FEI AGREED IN PEKING ON AN EXCHANGE OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND INTERPRETER TRAINING MATERIALS BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. ON OUR SIDE WE ARE NOW READY TO BEGIN THE EXCHANGE. THE SECRETARY HAS DESIGNATED MR. HOWARD E. SOLLENBERGER, DIRECTOR, FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TO COORDINATE THIS EXCHANGE FOR THE US. UPON BEING INFORMED WHO HAS BEEN DESIGNATED ON THE CHINESE SIDE, MR. SOLLENBERGER WILL COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH THE DESIGNATED PRC OFFICIAL AND DISPATCH THE FIRST SET OF MATERIALS IN THE EXCHANGE. WE PROPOSE THAT THE EXCHANGE MATERIALS BE TRANSFERRED AT PARIS.
3. YOU SHOULD EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION THAT DR. WANG CHI OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HAS BEEN INVITED TO THE PRC.

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WE WOULD WELCOME A VISIT BY ONE OR MORE CHINESE LIBRARIANS TO THE UNITED STATES. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HAS INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACT AS HOST FOR A SMALL DELEGATION OF LIBRARIANS TO BE NOMINATED BY THE PRC. A FORMAL INVITATION WILL BE ISSUED UPON OUR BEING INFORMED OF THE NAMES PROPOSED BY THE CHINESE SIDE. WE HOPE THAT DR. WANG'S TRIP TO THE PRC AND THE RECIPROCAL VISIT TO THE US OF CHINESE LIBRARIANS WILL LEAD TO THE RESUMPTION OF DIRECT LIBRARY-TO-LIBRARY EXCHANGES OF PUBLICATIONS.

4. YOU SHOULD INFORM THE CHINESE THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE TOUR OF THE CHINESE TABLE TENNIS TEAM IN THE US HAS MADE A GOOD START IN US-PRC CULTURAL EXCHANGE. WE WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE THE MOMENTUM WHICH WE HAVE GAINED BY SENDING A US SPORTS TEAM TO THE PRC IN THE NEAR FUTURE. RECALLING THAT AMONG THE SPECIFIC POSSIBILITIES FOR EXCHANGE DISCUSSED IN PEKING WAS BASKETBALL, WE PROPOSE TO SEND A BASKETBALL TEAM TO THE PRC DURING JUNE OR JULY AT A TIME WHICH IS DETERMINED BY DISCUSSION TO BE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT. WE PROPOSE THAT THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL COORDINATING BODY ON THE US SIDE BE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON US-CHINA RELATIONS, WHICH HAS THE EXPERIENCE AND PERSONNEL AND HAS DONE SUCH A GOOD JOB OF MANAGING THE VISIT OF THE PRC TABLE TENNIS TEAM. IF THE PRC AGREES TO THIS PROPOSAL, REQUEST THAT THEY NAME A COORDINATING BODY ON THEIR SIDE.

5. YOU SHOULD EXPRESS THE VIEW THAT THERE WOULD BE GREAT INTEREST IN THE UNITED STATES IN AN EXHIBITION OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE ART TREASURES RECENTLY EXCAVATED IN THE PRC AND UNKNOWN TO THE MANY AMERICAN ADMIRERS OF THE CHINESE CULTURAL HERITAGE. SHOULD THE PRC BE SO INCLUDED, THE US WOULD WELCOME A CHINESE EXHIBITION AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO FACILITATE PRC CONTACT WITH MUSEUMS, UNIVERSITIES OR OTHER APPROPRIATE SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS IN THE US.

6. YOU SHOULD INFORM THE PRC THAT WE REGARD SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE AS AN ESPECIALLY WORTHY AREA FOR DEVELOPMENT AND WOULD WELCOME CHINESE SCIENTIFIC OR MEDICAL DELEGATIONS TO THE US. ON OUR SIDE WE HAVE HAD EXPRESSION OF INTEREST BY SPECIALISTS OF TOP RANK TO VISIT CHINA TO STUDY AND EXCHANGE EXPERIENCES ABOUT CANCER, ABOUT PULMONARY DISEASE, AND A GROUP OF ANESTHESIOLOGISTS WHO WISH TO STUDY ACUPUNCTURE AND OTHER CHINESE TECHNIQUES OF ANESTHESIA. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE KIND OF EXCHANGE WHICH DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF BOTH COUNTRIES, AND WOULD LIKE TO ENDORSE THEIR REQUEST TO VISIT CHINA. IF THE PRC AGREES TO RECEIVE THEM, WE WOULD

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APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED WHO HAS AGREED TO ACT AS THEIR
HOST WITHIN CHINA; WE WILL PASS THIS INFORMATION TO THE
GROUP ALONG WITH WHATEVER FORMAL INVITATION MAY BE
EXTENDED BY THE CHINESE SIDE. THE US GROUP WILL THEN
GET DIRECTLY IN TOUCH WITH THE DESIGNATED PRC INDIVIDUAL
OR ORGANIZATION.

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